[P. 419] Chunut

796 At the end of the singing and dancing, people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ću), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho'ot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

536 Pleasure dances (ha'tim) were frequently held. A chief might give such little parties
517 (again referred to as lonu'witi) at his house.
574 His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

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[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

? [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut

[P. 416] Tachi Chukut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down
strings around their hair. The men wore the
ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could
get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no
special paint patterns for this dance.

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwis). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself.
[766] It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[152] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had hešwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

[i.e., pleasure dancers. - Anal'st]

751 chumni were on the other. They were not opposed by moiety, some being relatives and some just friends. There were only four doctors on each side, that is, really two doctors and their assistants.

The winatums built a large fire on each side. The doctors got close to these as it was from the fire they obtained their airshot. When ready the doctors and assistants in two files marched formally past each other and took up a position facing each other about twenty feet apart. In "fighting" they looked toward the sun from which the actual power of the shots was thought to come. They did not speak or pray to the sun but held up their hands, saying a long expirating "Ha-a-a-a!" then rubbed their hands together and then onto the large basket tray (čo´p·t) with which each was armed. There was no singing or dancing. When all was ready each doctor banged his tray on the ground, face downward, to propel the shot: "a tray held three rounds" and then had to be renewed. As the doctors succumbed they were carried aside by winatums; the onlookers wept. M.G. thinks that some succeeded in reviving themselves by looking at the sun. If this failed, the doctor whose shot was responsible was called to remove it. A doctor who revived himself returned the intrusive shot to the sender.

796 535 The Huhuna Dance was known to Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol, but the Choinuk, Telamni, and Hoshima (northerners) lacked it. (M.L., the Wukchumni, here interposed that her grandfather had danced it at Lemoore [in rancheria times ?] and G.G., M.G.'s son, had seen it at the Tule River Reservation.) The Nutunutu would come down to a Tachi village to see the performance, which always took place during the week of the mourning ceremony. Like the doctors' contest it was a daytime affair. The dancer's costume consisted of a "feather dress," and a cap shaped like an owl's head. He wore no paint on his face save "a little white around the mouth." He carried two long elderberry sticks which he cracked together as he jumped. He was able to find hidden money. Then a doctor killed him with airshot. M.G. recalls Kosewa as a doctor who did this; she thought both the doctor and Huhuna were Nutunutu; the doctor belonged to the Nutuwich moiety, but she did not know Huhuna's affiliations. When Huhuna died, all the spectators wept. The doctor then revived him. The spectators paid for the exhibition.

766 The Tachi mourning ceremony, according to Kroeber, lacked the effigy rite. "Among the latter [Tachi], after dancing till morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying."[102]

[102] Handbook, 501.

756 The Snake Ritual M.G. knew of, saying that
● 535 the Wechihit had it but the Tachi, Choinuk,
Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol did not. She said
[825] Pusl: ´l:n was an old man who could make that
dance as Snake was his totem animal, but no one
else, without this totem, could dance with
snakes. However, Kroeber states that the Tachi
had a ceremony which "approximated" the Yaud-
anchi rite which he describes.[103]

The Bear Dance M.G. claimed for the Tachi and Wechihit but denied to the Wolasi, Telamni, Choinuk, Chunut, and Wowol, and northerners (Hoshima). The Tachi had three Bear dancers; one woman danced it also. The performance was given in the middle of summer or at any other time for entertainment. Everybody paid a little to see it. M.G. knew of no purpose in its performance, perhaps it was performed by Bear doctors.

A beaver or fish dance (o ´šw:š), a shamanistic display of the foothill people, was unknown to M.G., although Kroeber attributes it to the Tachi.[104]

535 M.G. likewise disclaimed any dance which was done exclusively by women.

The pleasure dance (hata ´m:č or wa ´tiyod) was done by the Tachi, usually in the wintertime when it would be "danced all night" by an open fire. Five men of no special totem stood in a row with three women at each end. The men wore the usual upright feather headdress (ču) and had bunches of flicker feathers tied to their arms and wrists. There were three singers who sat at one side and used a clapper accompaniment (tawa ´taw:l). The dancers paid the singers; spectators paid the dancers.

The onlookers would say, "What dance is
535 that?" A singer would reply, "Deer dance,"
referring to the songs which were about birds
539 and animals.[105] M.G. could only remember two such songs, which are doubtfully translated.

hi ´awe na ko ´no
Where am I, Daylight?

mosa ´o wa na ko ´no
Little sweathouse in [?] long I,
Daylight

In the second, Pelican (ho ´hima) is singing.

he ´li ipai ´ya na
Pack in my head food I [refers
to pelican's method of putting
fish in his pouch]

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[103] Ibid., 506.

[104] Ibid., 507.

[105] Kroeber gives three Tachi songs, none of which seems pertinent to this discussion although one is, indeed, a dance song (Yokuts Language, 366); two Yaudanchi dance songs are about deer (ibid., 369).

769 but pretense, two or three women winatums rescued them and put them on a blanket. These women kept the "dolls' clothes" but the frames were burned. Speeches were made from time to time accompanied by intermittent weeping.

769 At dawn, after the burning, the ceremonial washing took place. The Telamni were ranged on
783 the west side of the dance space, their gi'i, the Wowol, opposite them on the east side. This dividing was called wːkči wːs and made the sides yːt ka yːt (one to one). A chief of each moiety of the Telamni had a large washing basket set out between the spectators; their messengers gathered the bereaved who were to be washed. These people gave the messengers money for their chiefs (to compensate for the baskets which the chiefs provided?). The Wowol chiefs, a Tokelyuwich and a Nutuwich, had with them new clothes for the mourners. They or their wives washed the faces of first, the chief of that moiety, then those of the mourners, taking the more important persons first. The new clothing was donned, and the washers received the washing baskets. The changing of clothes was called kasa'osːl. A chief of the washers said to the bereaved, "They burned. Now you will forget and be happy" ("mːm tulun. hi'na ma hi'nasu munːn").

769 Then the messengers went about shouting to everyone to play games. Any kind of game might
524 be played, but the hand game was most popular as it had been tabu during the preceding days. The messengers said there would be dancing at night.

769 The pleasure dance (hatːm) or doctor's dance (kam) was danced by men and women all
● 535 night. Some people who had special supernatural powers might dance also. Oṭo'ki'at (Tillie Wilcox), a Telamni, was one of the best singers and dancers, but she was not tːpni, so far as J.A. knows, "though nobody can tell." Such dancing was done merely to entertain. At dawn everyone went to bathe. Then people lingered about visiting or sleeping or returned to their homes.

769 J.A. saw two large mourning ceremonies in her childhood. The last "big fandango" in the valley was made by Joaquín, a Telamni chief at Pisras. He was Tokelyuwich and was washed by Charlie Thomas, a Nutuwich Wowol chief, and his family. One woman of Thomas' family washed Joaquín and his wife. The Wowol were the Telamni's gi'i.

At Drum Valley, J.A. attended a mourning ceremony given by Co'o'po (Bill Osborn), Waksachi, Otoki'at's (Tillie Wilcox's) first husband. She thinks they were mourning for Sono'lenːn. Their son was crying. Some Wukchumni did the washing, but J.A. cannot identify them. The Waksachi called the Wukchumni
[616] gi'i. No moieties were involved, of course. Buffalo Bill's wife, Lottie, gave J.A. a basket and a red bead necklace for her help in making a cross which was taken to the grave.

796 668 [534] The singer accompanists wore their usual ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatw·l). J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai ´na·na·ni na ´na·ni·," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 668 535 The dance itself, called soto ´twi kam (going around or circling dance) and also hi ´·th· ´twi kam (to drag the feet dance) by the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progression. When, each night, the dance was being performed for the last time, the participants circled once to the right and then to the left (clockwise) three times. Some people joined hands, but women who were carrying cradles held their hands behind their backs to steady the basket and infant occupant.

796 668 [413] The dance ended at break of day. Then everyone went swimming. They ran to the water as fast as possible, men and women together. On the way back they picked up wood for their breakfast fires. There were no food tabus. Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Co'opol] sold steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

[535] [825] On the last day of the Ghost Dance a special rite called the Horse Dance was performed. Owners rode their animals around within the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old horses were led around and were rejuvenated by the spiritual power (t·pni) of the dance. One of the songs for this seemed to be:

ya ´a· ya ´ e· hai ´ya kawai ´yo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 668 648 Then word that the white settlers were coming to kill them ended the affair and sent the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible torture from the whites flew about. On their way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother threatened her with warnings that if the white men found her they would kill her, cut her open, and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They were still afraid of the white people. They had one or two such dances, but one ended in a drunken brawl.

756 It is to be noted that the infamous shaman watisti and his mother were among those at Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam [watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make [535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Garfield sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances" for an account of this entertainment.) No other dance or ritual was ever given at summer camps. J.B. said that they all returned to Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that there visitors could be accommodated and the location was secluded from encroaching whites. [107] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no place to pasture horses; all the land was taken up by whites."

621 Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
542 call only three families. The chief there was Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the couple continued to live with Biseti's mother because "his father had gone to live with another woman." In another house lived an old man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife, Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet another woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi. The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai; his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named O´mo. L. said they had no children "because Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. Another chief, Ke´wič (John Davis) lived there, and in a third house were relatives of Jim Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano. Later Walai moved out there; and this chief Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who previously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister, female parallel cousin (called elder sister), her older brother, and her maternal grandmother all lived in one house. When her father was alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in a house of their own. Her father's mother, [361] father's brother, and father's sisters all lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establishments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers, or cousins, would build their houses close together." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would
423 stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not have special places to hunt food, anyone went with anyone else just as they wished." [A slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that women quarreled over their claims to berry and seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

435 436 804 was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[205] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth twenty-five cents.

535 465 The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 čok in payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[206]

436 804 Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[207] states that the unit of measurement in the north was the chok, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the chok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the hista, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[208]

The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

802

1. yˑt	6. tu ´dipi
2. po ´ñoi	7. no ´mčːn
3. so ´pːn	8. mo ´ñus
4. ha ´po ´ñi	9. no ´nːp
5. yu ´tsːnuk	10. ţi ´´uv

[172] [205] A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hopps, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[431 571] [206] Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[207] Handbook, 498.

[208] P. 375.

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress, 535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt, 292 feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear 237 plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer 755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. It was the privilege of anyone who wished or 522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826] [435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

789 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor
825 the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments,
[301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

789 But such ornaments were dangerous to wear
301 at other seasons because they attracted thunder
821 (lightning). S.G. related the following as an illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitu-
[823] men?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutenumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with profession-
al entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of
[535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

● 535 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face
[302] black, the other side white. Both men had their bodies covered with short horizontal
[533] white stripes. Two singers accompanied them, Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a
574 mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-
765 night dance after a mourning ceremony were al-
[756] ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment
534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear
765 Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the
541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become
535 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

552 535 hostile intention was ever associated with this dance in practice or by tradition.

Watiyod

552 756 The wa'tiyod was a dance performed by shamans for the entertainment of onlookers and for making money for themselves. Usually two or more women participated. The accompanying [534] singers used the clapper (taowid). The dance could be made at any place at any season. While it was wholly profane in character, it was, nevertheless, performed only by doctors.

J.B.'s account is localized at Šiyedu, a Wukchumni seed-gathering camp.

This dance was done by Watišti (Watisti) and his mother Boyiwan (Poi'on).[356] This was the only "pleasure" dance they made and the only dance performed at the camp called Šiyedu. It was done every month or so, "whenever the doctor wanted to make a little money, or somebody else, like the tia'a, asked him to." Men, women, and children assembled to watch.

Watisti wore the vertical feather and feather wreath headdress, a feather skirt, and carried feather bunches (wač'am) in each hand. [302] His face was painted entirely black, and short perpendicular alternating black and white stripes covered his torso. Black and white stripes encircled his arms and legs.

Poi'on, who danced with him, had eagle down glued across her forehead, wore a deerskin apron, and carried hand feathers. [302] Her face bore alternate stripes of black and white running obliquely from beneath the eyes to the edge of the jawbone. Her body was unpainted.

535 533 Their accompanist was Ponato (Bill Garfield), who "always sang at Šiyedu." He wore no paint or ornaments, merely carrying his elderwood clapper. Beside him was a basketry tray on which spectators deposited small sums of money as payment. The singer received one-half the total amount.

Both dancers sang in unison with the singer. The man's step was the usual stamping with high-lifted knees. Although he remained nominally in the same place, he turned about facing this way and that at will. The woman kept her feet parallel, close together, and took sidewise jumps, moving her hands in unison and in the same direction as her feet. She covered more ground than her partner, although her movements were less facile.

The performance began at dark of a summer evening, about eight o'clock, and might continue until midnight. Each dance unit lasted three to five minutes, during which time the singer repeated the same song two or three times. Then there would be a rest, and then again another song and dancing for a few

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[356] See the Tankalachi account of these people who were "southerners" living at Šiyedu.

535 minutes. When the dancer wanted his singer to
533 start or stop, he held his hand feathers out toward him. For each dance unit there was a new song although the steps remained the same.

J.B. was unable to repeat any of the songs, but he said their content dealt solely with the animal creatures who inhabited the world during the mythical prehuman era, they were all about Eagle, Coyote, Dove, etc. He did not think there was any defined order for the series of songs.

535 The informant M.L. used to participate in the watiyod as one of the female dancers along with her mother, mother's sister, and mother's brother. She said that nearly always the women would be some kin of the men performers. She described the affair as follows.

'This dance could be held at any time of year -- whenever a doctor wanted to make some money or was asked to perform. Usually it was an evening spectacle. The village winatum would build a fire at the dance space, a large one in winter, a small one in summer. Spectators brought tule mats and sat around to watch. They also brought a bit of money as payment, which was collected by the singer accompanists who shared in the profits.

535 Usually there were four or five men and
308 four women participants. The men wore feather skirts (ṭu hun), bracelets and anklets of crow feathers, and each carried one large black quill in the right hand. Their bodies were painted with horizontal stripes of white. The women wore deerskin aprons (some of them trimmed with rattling deer hooves), bead necklaces, ear plugs, and carried a feather bunch in each hand. Their faces were covered with red paint and over it a horizontal row of white dots crossed the cheeks and nose.

535 Two or three singers sat at one side using
533 clappers. The doctors had their own songs, which the singers knew, and all sang together. And, said M.L., the women sang also in a loud shrill manner.

The dancers all stood in a row with two women taking the end positions. The men stamped heavily with each foot, swaying the feather quill back and forth, while the women jumped from side to side with feet clamped together, moving their feather bunches in unison with their feet. If a "tiya wanted a dancer to show off he would have his winatum call to him to step out of line and dance alone for a bit." A winatum could also call out mistakes made by the dancers. M.L. could not say what such errors might be other than getting out of step with one's companions. A singer might attract attention to a dancer's mistake by stopping his clapper, patting his hand against his mouth and uttering a loud ululatin "Ha-a-a-a," at which everybody laughed.

533 The songs were "all about animals." A few M.L. recalled appear below. She said the first

796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
[534] also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side
and used a cocoon rattle. The dancers stood in
[554] a row, with the most powerful or important man
at the right end, the woman at the left (from
the audience's point of view). The men held
[198] their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
[516] her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
796 the dancers turned toward their left, and the
535 men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained
in her place and, with feet together and heels
off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with
a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls
of her feet. The upper part of her body and
her shoulders she turned to right and left on
alternate "bounces." She kept this up con-
tinuously while the men jumped and walked back-
ward to their former positions three times. The
whole performance lasted no more than ten
minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be re-
peated under any circumstances until the follow-
ing year. For this reason it was particularly
admired, and urgent demands for repetition from
the onlookers, with consequent refusals from
the dancers, seem to have been a traditional
part of the affair. If the spectacle were to
be witnessed again that season, it would have
to be in some other village or tribe with other
dancers.

[773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer
whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spec-
tators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's
see your hair!" At once the black portions
turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

796 The dance was supposed to be a replica of
825 real bears' antics; they were said often "to
dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown and saw a little bear dancing beside a small oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree three times. Then he clawed up some earth and threw it at the little tree. The tree was his singer and the little bear was mad because the singer made a mistake. The human dancers act just the same way [not toward their singer, however] and will not look back over their shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance. He was near a little white oak which they believed was his singer. He jumped and grunted three times, then he grabbed at the tree and playfully mauled it. Three times he did this and then went off. The women were much pleased at the spectacle.

1 [in the Bear Dance. -Anthyst]

769 would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary [541] practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Mutoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

769 A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (añtu) 535 (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu·du) [613] for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" [as being the family emblem]. She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regular part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it [541] could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocant [gu'ui] tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, [237] sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'ow·ts [?] feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, al- [293] though J.P. and S.G. said that abalone shell discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (so·n·l). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Huhunats (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 MS29 Yokuts MS29
[P. 128 a] Wukchumni

769 The Huhunata approached with mincing, half-
535 turning steps, trembling continuously, knocking their own two sticks together and whistling a high repeated note. They began to look for the money, pointing to it with their sticks, and a winatum disclosed it. Sometimes "even the winatum could not find it so they had to dig it out themselves." M.L. said she was frightened when they drew near her. All the money they found they kept in little skin sacks which hung over their shoulders.

After all the money had been found, a shaman (on this occasion, Sa'maka, a Wukchumni) entered dressed in full regalia. He sat down on the edge of the dance space. The chief gave him a tray (tai''iwan) and a winatum built a fire beside him. The shaman rose, swung his hand feather bunch (sonil) over the fire, then held his tray up to the sun to get airshot. Then he exposed it to the audience so all could see the seedlike "bullets" adhering to it. The winatum took the tray to one of the Huhuna and "asked him if he wanted to die by it." The Huhuna replied "that it was not strong enough." So the shaman strengthened it, and on second inspection Huhuna was satisfied. When the tray was returned to the shaman, he banged it violently on the ground twice. Each time a Huhuna "fell over dead." Two winatums carried them to one side, and immediately the host spectators came dragging long strands of money
[152] which the winatums threw over the prostrate victims. Everyone present wept.

All the visiting Yokod sat down behind their men. Then a Yokod shaman entered, revived his two compatriots, and, making airshot at the fire, bowled over the Wukchumni shaman, who was in turn revived by a fellow shaman. The Huhunata received all the money thrown on them, but from this they had to pay their singers who had been singing for them throughout the performance. The local chief paid his own shamans for their part. J.P. said the affair lasted from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Shamans' Contest

756 The preliminary to the Shamans' Contest
769 was called gokoszyu ñit. It was a more or less
769 spontaneous affair and, if held at all, preceded the real contest as a sort of trial. The entrants in this were said to be "warming up" for the big contest. "Any kind" of shaman might enter, but never Bear Dancers. In this little contest a single powerful shaman would sometimes take on two or three lesser ones. This trial also permitted novices to test their skill before entering the more dangerous fracas.

The Shamans' Contest (he'wač) was held on the fifth day [Friday] of the week of the

1: Gayton E-6 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 131b] Wukchumni

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
789 liked."

The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only
769 at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and
Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon to-
535 ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday.
The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a
Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´t:s was also a
Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long
feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of
abalone shells (ṭu´ḍṭud) fastened over his eyes
[on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his
left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the
money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of
money-finding, his winatum would tell him he
was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this
task was usually Čokon:k, although J.B. had
seen Ma´wl, a "Southerner" do it also. The
shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked
Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him
aside, then the shaman would restore him. For
this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were
paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the cere-
mony the burning of images took place. This
was called ahana ñ:t. Only the hosts took part;
the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in
the center of the dance space. The chief,
[481] mourning families, and others proceeded around
it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping
high and stamping. Women of the mourning
families carried the effigies of the dead
(woi´dow:š) while both men and women carried
long poles to which were affixed baskets and
[198] beads for the visitors. The poles were carried
in one hand while the other hand patted the
mouth to produce a long ululation, long and
doleful rather than staccato, and the poles
were waved in the air. At the end of the
second circuit of the fire the mourners cast
the effigies on the fire. At the same time the
poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled
for the money and treasures; this part of the
[184] ritual was called ka´n:ts. This custom of
tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni,
Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas
the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western
Mono) kept the poles until the time of the
ritual washing when the gifts were presented to
the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was
668 attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Hollkuma maybe," from the northeast.[*] "He went

[text continues on p. 133]

[*] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

668 The dance was called soto·´tow:d kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and]
women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
535 moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire
was in the center, but many fires from en-
circling camps provided light. Singers wear-
ing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at
one side. They used no instruments. (J.B.
thought "some people to the north used clappers
and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.")
The singers were not paid, but their food and
fire were provided by winatums from various
visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[285] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[269] or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsal]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville
177 when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono" came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a — Analysis]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

131 The following Chukaimina and Michahai
361 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).
103

1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´h:ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[285] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 150 b] Choinimni

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

756 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance.--A dance (he´šːš na´mːt)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hešːš namːt dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wːt) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Sːnči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

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[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 151 a] Choinimni

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
787 plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ṭ:ˊpni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before touching meat, then they had a little party (wiˊte luniˇ̆a) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both
[616] moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

773 The mythological source of jimsonweed was not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

769 Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luniˇ̆a) lasted for a six-day week called čuˊlipi lakaˊn. The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W.,
● 535 differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 151 b] Choinimni

[783] Ceremonial waiting was done on
769 the morning of the sixth day. The Huhuna Dance
in the afternoon, after which the usual games
● 535 and pleasure dances were indulged in. This
arrangement may be quite correct, for the
Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a
display. While it is unusual to have display
dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the
first days, the program for these days was
somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River
area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety
opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as
616 "washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit
were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host
tribe got wood and water for the visitors.
Every morning and evening just before sunrise
and sunset a group of singers went outside of
the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed.
The relatives of the deceased and any others
dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers
clapped their hands, the performance ceased.
Some of the visitors played games during the
day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old
people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it
seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the
day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also
might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers,
whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men
who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial
regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest
(hə ʻwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s inco-
756 herent description can be followed, the contest
789 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took
place in the early afternoon. There were four
doctors on each side, of whom Pušl:l:n and
Kapl:l:n are the only ones remembered. In
making their "airshot" (toiyəš) they used no
fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying
to] the sun was involved. As they made their
seizing gestures from the sun toward their
basketry trays on which the shot appeared,
they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "hˀ!
hˀ! hˀ!" The airshot "looked just like white
fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet."
The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kapl:l:n.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of
crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was
called aha ʻna. The mourning relatives, who had
been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the
night, carrying with them the images or "dolls"
(ta ʻwits nao ʻha, dead made-like), which were
not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[Lit. of the mourning ceremony. -Analyst]

769 they were really aboriginal because he "couldn't figure out what they were made of before we got clothes -- the real old-timers had nothing but skin." While the mourners were parading about, the chief made a speech, which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase. Then the images were burned or given away, but the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

769 On the following morning, the sixth day,
783 the ritual washing (ʻpla ʻo ʻiša) was performed. The system of reciprocal washing was like that of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich. P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted by his male and female winatums, which again is like valley practice. They dressed up the cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons, ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment was made to the washers in money or articles of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return gifts in modern times.] The chief made a speech and told everybody to be happy, especially those who had been mourning.

769 Then Huhuna danced. This was done by
● 535 La ʻhaiya, whose costume consisted of a feather
184 wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" covered with feathers. The face and eyes were not covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the "shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers, and found hidden money. There were no singers or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted on this, and reverted to the Shamans' Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance was aberrant in both costume and execution, which probably explains its position in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for entertainment after the washing ritual.

Guksai.---This informant had never heard the word guʻksai, or any variation of it; nor did he recognize any ceremonial figure which might be identified as guksai: "Huhuna was the only one."

796 Bear Dance.---As described by P.D.W. this
536 dance is like the form reported from the Lake tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni or Western Mono. A man named Koʻwo, a Chukaimina at Squaw Valley, made this: people went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or he visited around at Kings River villages and gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear was going to come out." Most positively,
796 P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done
536 in the fall of the year and that, if requested,
424 it could be performed at a mourning ceremony. He did not learn or inherit the dance from

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[EP 152 b] Choinimni

796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance regalia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ču') skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema). Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him; he danced "half the night."

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

Rattlesnake ritual.--This rite (le'a'la) was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušl:'l:n, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušl:l:n most frequently gave this ceremony; Pušl:l:n was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kapl:l:n did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
796 Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao) and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance. [302] The people put black and white paint on their faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

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[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, c.

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi´). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´´osn·l).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped
[354] to keep it from tipping over.

The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke
[574] there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the
[481] framework, the woman after the thatch. Men
562 tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of
[586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

Houses of a village were set out in a row
386 if the site permitted; if it did not, any ar-
622 rangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.---The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the names E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.161b] Kechayi

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [747] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 184 Pottery.---E.M. said pottery was "used by people long ago." She had never seen but one pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.---There was no cultivation of tobacco (po''om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning [887] to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a'sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo'gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči'na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

[787] The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke'wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 481 Ferrying.---Men and women were equally good swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta'okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 [204] Posture.---Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

756 it by making minor cures), he gave a public dance (a ˊnuṭun ti ˊña) at which he cured a patient. This formal announcement of his professional status began with dancing in the sweat house. He wore all the usual regalia, and had one or two singers to sing for his dancing. Any man who wished might go in to watch, but women never entered. As he danced, his power talked to him and told him when it was time for him to go outside to continue the dancing and make the cure. This is the source of the name for the ritual, literally, "doctor's going-out" or "doctor's emergence." After his emergence he told, as he sang, of his supernatural experience. Then he cured the patient who was already there.

If a doctor did not wish to start his ritual inside the sweat house, he could begin outdoors, but in that case he had to have some older and established shaman dance with him.

At his debut and on later occasions a wise young man would be discreet about his disclosures concerning his supernatural power. To give the impression of having much power would engender jealousy among the older shamans, who might injure his power or even kill him.

756 789 A distinction was made between the doctor (a ñṭu) who had to cut and suck in order to cure, and the doctor with power (mɨts añṭu, true, actual, great doctor) who cured with rubbing or brushing. The latter, whose course of training is given above, cured by dipping a weasel skin (ču ˊduñ) in water and stroking it over the patient. The sickness was squeezed from the skin onto a tray, removed by the doctor's wiˊtum, and burned.

756 [535 778] There were no other special classes of doctors. Men with Bear power were regarded as dancers, not doctors, "though they had plenty of ṭɨpni."

In this connection E.M. said the Choinimni P.D.W. was sufficiently trained to do curing by rubbing as well as by cutting and sucking. Two years ago (1927) he had come to the Friant rancheria and given the ceremony for general preventative curing. They were expecting him to come again soon for the same purpose.

Fees.--A doctor who failed to cure would return the fee itself or objects of equal value. If a patient were very sick and obviously unlikely to recover, the doctor might refuse to take the case. If he had come from far away, he would be paid -- and he would accept -- something as recompense for his futile trip.

Sometimes a doctor would be killed for losing a patient. If the doctor were from another tribe, he and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the purpose of making a financial adjustment. During the discussion the bereaved persons "might get so mad they would kill the doctor and his chief right on the spot." (E.M. could not substantiate this with a case; it was "just what she had heard.")

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N5219 Yokuts N529
[P. 1929] Kechayi

BELIEFS

773 825 Wainus.---This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭ:pni]. The wainus inhabited almost any locality [756] but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.---Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.---E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.---When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 756 535 Pleasure dance.---This dance (h:č: ´ǐna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata ´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta ´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were Čokon:k and Ha ´t:š, the shamans, and Ke ´mas and Ku ´ba ´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son·l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I). All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.---This dance (mosla´os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Si´lat and Wojil·t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their
302 faces were painted solid red with white dots
616 scattered over it and three horizontal white stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.---This dance was called no´·n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h·l and Te´e´wus, had power from Bear (noho´·n t·pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

[P. 173 9] Kechayi

535 796 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked for.

E.M. saw Goh·l and another Bear dancer named Jo´n·š do the dance. They wore the vertical feather čų on their heads, bear paws on [237] their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and 302] black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša´načі) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then 796 they pretended to dance into the fire and 535 frightened people. They turned into bears as they danced, but Čokon·k's daughter, who some- 789 times danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Goh·l turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai'·č, another Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the 522 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a char- 616 acter representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Hutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, [302] cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics in- [786] cluded yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The 789 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors. 756 The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made 787 them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokon·k do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 201 9] Chukchansi

769 The Chukchansi at Picayune were the cere-
783 monial washers of the Chukchansi at Aplau. J.R. described the washing.

"The people who live right there, maybe a bunch from Picayune, come up. They heat water in a basket with hot rocks. Those people from Picayune wash the people who live right here (the mourning hosts) with this warm water. The people here give (in return) maybe half of the deer meat, and acorn meal to go with it, which their women have pounded up."

When the Picayune Indians get through washing the mourners, they all go back to their sleeping camps. The host captain, who lives here, goes back after being washed and sits down. He calls all the (his ?) people around. He says that now they are washed (ritually cleansed) and they can enjoy themselves. There
[526] was no definite plan of entertainment. If they felt like singing, they sang. Various games were played, a footrace was run, and so on. "They play anything they want."

769 They would play for a week, in the old
527 times, said J.R. They ate the food that was ready. They had some acorn meal already pounded and cooked; they cooked more as needed. Some of this was given to the visitors. When they had enjoyed themselves for perhaps two days, possibly longer (they usually stayed a week), everybody went home. They just had fun. Played games. Danced. It was just to have fun. They just got together for that. The old fellows stayed near the fire (outdoors or in a sweat house ?). The young girls got out to sing, dance, holler, have fun. The boys played together too. The young people all ran around, jumping, dancing, boys and girls together. "After it is all over, it is finished. No one says anything more about it."

769 Dancing was the chief form of entertain-
535 ment, however. Every night there would be dancing, only a little during the day. A doctor, if he knew how, would dance -- not because he was a shaman, but because he was a dancer. There would be three or four good dancers from Picayune, three or four from Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi, etc.), the same from Mariposa (Miwok). The captain of the community would tell certain persons to dance to entertain his visitors. Then a visiting captain would have his men perform. And so on: "when one bunch quits, another will start."

769 During all this time there were Indian
625 "police" or managers on duty, who functioned only at this time. They went around with the captains to preserve order. They exhorted people to behave peacefully, to be good. They were called kut'eu.

769 No understanding of Chukchansi mourning rites is complete without perusal of an eye-witness account by Stephen Powers.[133] Kroeber's description of the ceremony should also be ex-

[133] Ibid., 384-391.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 203 9] Chukchansi

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

[534 533] The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 344 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

622 796 When the chiefs wanted something done, they called their people to a big assembly fire. There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

-1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[EP. 203b] Chukchansi

668
796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume [302] was still in use. However, in the morning after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754 Several anecdotes of illness were told by
776 N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

[439] [142]Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.209 a] Chukchansi

756 825 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her [522] about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians [535] down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 789 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doctors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

756 789 The spectacle was in the evening. An enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" [presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

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[151] This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152] Handbook, 516, 517.

W Y 796 541 men, who were Wukchumni shamans, Tapu·ša and Il·pča. (Il·pča was Joe Pohot's maternal grandfather's brother, possibly one of the performers at the display Mary Pohot witnessed as a little girl.)

Huhuna Dance.---The following description was given by S.O. and has been previously published.[193] While the Huhuna Dance was part of the mourning ritual series it might be performed out of its ceremonial context at any time.

The Waksachi did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni and one from the Tule River Reservation who came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai too. Their names are not remembered. They came to ceremonies at Tušao. There they made money for the local chief, Pao'·č, but they were paid for doing this.

The Huhuna could hear money that was hidden, this was his special ability. Before the performance began, the chief sponsoring the affair had money hidden, possibly in the ground, under bushes, or in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. The chief himself supplied the money, though others might add to the sum if they wished. Huhuna was then brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask which covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he "heard" the hidden money he pointed toward it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum, who thereupon dug up the money and put it in a basket. If the Huhuna had not brought a winatum with him, the local chief would assign one to assist him. After the money had all been discovered, a shaman came on the scene. The winatum of the chief made a little fire at which the shaman manufactured invisible airshot (toiyuš). Huhuna was told where to sit down when "shot," and a blanket was laid out for money which would be paid the shaman. When the shaman was ready, he danced about and then cast the shot at Huhuna, who fell over unconscious. His winatum carried him off to one side, whereupon all the spectators present threw down money beside him. This money, however, went to the chief sponsoring the rite, and from it the chief paid the shaman for his part in the performance. After he received his payment, the shaman proceeded to revive Huhuna by sucking the shot from him. If a chief had come with Huhuna, he too received presents of money or acorn meal for the spectators.

W Y 796 541 789 756

B.O. said that the Huhuna Dance was never performed by the Waksachi, but that he had seen it "three or four times in Wukchumni places [villages]."

W Y 535 Pleasure Dance.---This dance (he·ž·šne·n·č) was done in the evening at any time of year, though it would not be done for more than one night in several weeks, i.e., it would not be made two or more nights in succession. There

[193] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 375.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 249 Western Mono NS-25

W Y 535

was no special costume, no singers, no payment, and [inferentially] no women participants. The dancers were usually youths of eighteen to twenty years, though married or older men could join if they wished. About ten men would stand in a circle with a leader in the center. At his command each one sang and danced in turn. S.O. could not describe the songs or steps. There was no training or special knowledge for this: "a man just learned by watching."

Women's dance.--Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that there were no dances exclusively for women participants among the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi. B.O. pointed out that, "even when women danced with men, the latter outnumbered them."

W Y 535 522

Coyote clowning.--Coyote clowning which, according to S.O., constituted a coda or accompaniment to any kind of ritual celebration, was associated with a lineage having Coyote as its totem. The performers would be asked to various celebrations and they "had to go" although they were paid for the service. The best Coyote dancers came from the Wukchumni, among whom the most notable performer was a Gawia, Ka´osana;[194] there was another at Squaw Valley whose name was not recalled. At the village of Tušao "there was no one who knew how to do it right but they'd get in and play too if they felt like it." The informant so strongly sensed the obscenities of the clowning that he not only refused to describe the behavior, but was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said the performers had large circles of black, white, and red paint on their faces. They "danced around" outdoors, never entering houses.

W Y [831]

Shamans' Contest

W Y 756 789

This performance was not a Waksachi or Michahai institution and, if given in connection with the Annual Mourning Ceremony or at any other time, was presented by outsiders who were hired to make the spectacle. Both S.O. and B.O. had seen it at Tušao but not at Čitatu. S.O. described it.

Two fires were made by local winatums who assisted the shamans and were paid both by them and by their chiefs for so doing. A group of five or six singers sat at one side, but sang for the benefit of all contestants. At this time they were called a´ntahun ile´hi:č (doctors' singers). As accompaniment they used the cocoon rattle (čao:č) and clapper (ta´oh:l).

Normally the chief responsible (the host) would have his winatums ask for an exhibit of airshot by each entrant to assure their capacity as fit participants. The airshot which was visible (tusa´š) "looked like little white

[194] Henry Aichow's father-in-law. See M.L.'s account for the Wukchumni.

W Y 796 668

"We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

W Y [775]

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa ʻošao paʻʻa nːm (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (iʻnːl). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [783]

Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he ʻbarːn, he ʻbaya, he ʻnani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535]

Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y [302 83]

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517]

During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

son" into their opponents, and strike at each other with winnowing baskets. Often, when struck, they are able to extract the magic missile, but sometimes fail, whereupon the victors shout "*Wuuwuwuwu!*" and receive pay for withdrawing their paralyzing power. On the first evening the performance is brief, a sort of warming up. The next night the shamans go at each other in earnest, and contend until morning. Although no public benefit whatever results, this rite appears to be rated more highly than the rattlesnake ceremony, on the ground that a greater number of medicine men participate. Shamans of special powers as opposed to bewitching and curative abilities do not enter the *heshwash:* rain, bear, and snake "doctors" stay out.

This contest of supernatural abilities has northern parallels; as among the Yuki in their *hulk'ilal* ceremonies. But the setting, meaning, and organization of the performances are different. In the one case there is a secret society of initiated impersonators; in the other an assembly of shamans with personally acquired powers. A nearer parallel is found among the Maidu shamans' competitions.

The *Ohowish* or "wishing" ceremony is also a pure demonstration of supernatural power. Sleight of hand is the central feature, as suggestion is in the *heshwash*. Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowich* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

The medicine bags here referred to savor of Plains Indian ideas more than of native Californian practices; although there is Pomo parallel.

The *Heshwash* and *Ohowish* extend from the southernmost tribes at least to the Tachi and Gashown; the habits of the Chukchansi are not known.

The *Ha'ishat* is a nonshamanistic dance, whose relation to other ceremonies, or purpose other than pleasure, has not become clear. A place and time, perhaps 12 days ahead, are appointed. The invitees then busy themselves securing quantities of food, laden with which they start out, and make camp for the night a mile or more away from the designated spot. In the morning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, every one carrying his pack of provisions, dance in a long single file, to the usual Yokuts "piston-rod step," all the way in to the meeting place. This must have been a most pic-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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535 turesque spectacle when several tribes gathered at once; but it has
527 the appearance of being only a prelude.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA.

292 The eternal yellow-hammer forehead bands of the California In-
237 dians are not lacking among the Yokuts; but the characteristic dance
[301] costume of these tribes comprised the *chohun*, a skirt of strings of eagle down, and the *djuh*, a tall headdress of tail plumes of magpies, encircled at the base by crow feathers (Fig. 44). The eagle-down skirt extends across the Sierra to the Shoshonean tribes as far east as Death Valley (Pl. 42). It has not been reported from any part
[171] of interior California other than the Yokuts, and in southern California its place is taken by a skirt of large eagle feathers. In this garment we have the [illegible] recognize either a local development [illegible] influence from the Great Basin. The magpie and crow headdress is found, with some slight variation, among the Maidu and Patwin; and it may accordingly be assumed for the intervening Miwok also, though not yet reported from them. With the Maidu, this ornament is part of the apparel of god impersonators, such as the *Sĭli* and Bear spirit; among the Yokuts, who do not indulge in such esoteric representations, it is worn in the mourning dance, in the complementary dance of rejoicing, and by shamans. It is a familiar fact that the same article or element of civilization is frequently utilized for widely different purposes, and in quite diverse connections or meanings, by distinct nations.

FIG. 44.—Yokuts dance headdress of magpie and crow feathers.

292 The *djuh* was held in place by a stick jammed through its base
237 and the hair as bunched under a tightly drawn head net—the usual
301 central Californian device for fastening large feather ornaments to the head. The *chohun* was made from the down of a large water bird, called *goldat* by the valley tribes, when they experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of eagles. Sticks tipped with the showy crest feathers of the mountain quail were passed through the pierced ear lobes.

293 Two other ornaments were much used by the Yokuts: the *wachan*
237 and the *notanat*. The former was a loose bunch of feathers carried
301 in the hand and swinging with every motion; the latter, a belt, also worn as leg band, of strings of twisted hair cut off by mourners. This

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors. 756

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe. [302 292] [535]

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison. 752 755

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act. 756 171

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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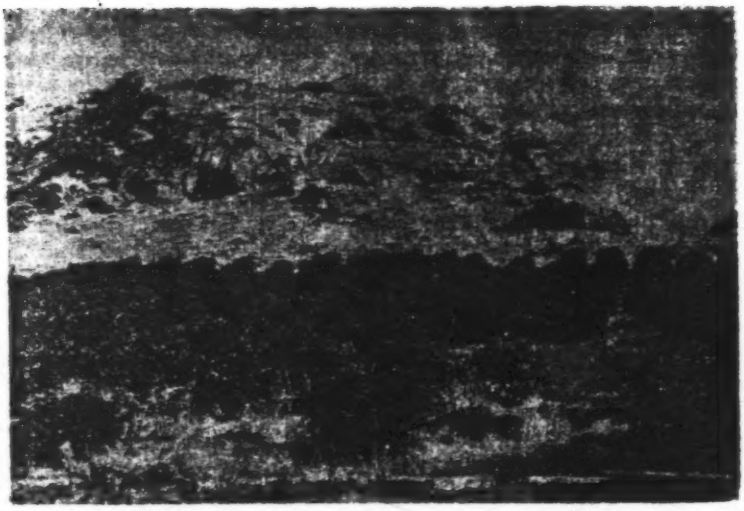
[133]



This grey, granite-strewn hill about two miles east of Woodlake, resembles the Yokuts blue heron clown when he had fallen during his dance, so the **Wukchumne** called it **Ho-hu'-no.**

Hohuno never spoke. He called, "Ho-hoo'-no," and whistled low. He danced light on the tips of his toes. He almost seemed to float around without touching the ground. He made shivers run up our backs.

[535]

People hid things and Hohuno found them. They would put beads in the grass, or under something. They hung some in a tree. Some they buried in the ground. Hohuno danced and whistled around the fires, going to one person and then another calling, "Ho-hoo'-no." He would dance backward and forward until finally he would point to where something was hid, and call, "Ho-hoo'-no." Then they had to give him what he had found. He found everything they had hid.

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The third night the Indian doctors had a fight called ***Hes-wus*** [a sham battle]. This fight was by doctors who were both ***Ahntru*** (Ahn'-troo) and ***Trip'-ne***. The ***Ahntru*** Doctors doctored people with medicine. They did not know as much or do as many things as the Tripne Doctors. The Tripne Doctors were very strong [supernatural]. They could do anything, make anyone die, change into coyote, bear, or eagle, or make it rain.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Mono Indian Doctors said that if we held a big new kind of dance at Eshom valley we could stop all of the dying and could bring back all of our dead people. So our doctors and our Teah (Te'-ah, chief) agreed to help. They called this new dance *Heut Hetwe* (He'-ut Het'-we).

At the Eshom valley Heut Hetwe we were to see all of our dead people. *Tih-pik'-nits,* the bird person who was keeper of the hereafter, was to bring back to us our fathers, mothers, uncles, aunts and our grandparents. Then no one was to die anymore. That was why all of the Indians went to Eshom valley. The white people thought they were going to fight. They did not want to fight. They were not going to hurt anyone.

When we went to Eshom valley my people were living about three miles south of Farmersville at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My people called that place *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-ne). The Teah there was *Teep-wuit'-trah.* He belonged to the *Wowol* tribe. He was uncle to my mother. He took us to Eshom valley.

It was a nice place in Eshom valley where the dance was held. The Indians used to go there to gather clover to eat. There was always a nice field of sweet clover there in the spring. We called Eshom valley *Chetutu* (Che-tut'-oo), or clover place. There is a creek in the valley. The dance was made near a water hole in the creek.

The Eshom valley dance was the biggest dance I ever saw. Indians came from everywhere, some from Tule river and Deer Creek, some from Lemoore and some from Kings river. We went horseback from Sulawlahnne. It took us two days to go there.

The chiefs who had charge of the dance told us that we must not get angry or be mean to one another at the dance. We were to keep dancing all the time. Only the little children could sleep. If anyone did not dance he would die or turn into a rotten log of wood.

The chiefs also told us that we must bathe in the creek every morning. When the *Win-at'-un* (messenger) called we were all to run to the creek and bathe. They told us that we were going to dance the same dance that the dead people dance in *Tihpiknis Pahn* [Land of the Dead].

We danced in a big circle at Eshom valley. Sometimes everybody danced at once. We held each others' hands. We

[Text continues on p. 249]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

moved them from our shoulders down at each step. We stepped to the left. After we got tired we just dragged one foot and then the other. Some carried little baskets of beads and threw them on the ground as they danced. We danced around and around in the same place all of the time and made a deep ditch in the ground. It was a new dance to us. It was different from the *Lonewis* (Lo-nee'-wis) dance.

About six or seven *Ahanich* (Ah-ha'-nitch) [professional singers] led the singing. The Indian doctors wore skirts and feather hats and danced around with the rest of us. The main song that they sang went like this:

Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
(I will be anything)
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah'-nah nahn' een'-ah a - a
[repeat indefinitely]

I do not know all of the words, but they mean something like, "I will be anything, crow, rock, stick, rattlesnake, or anything, if our dead people come back."

All of the time we expected to see our dead people come back. We got tired, but we danced six days and nights. Once a small girl did not want to dance, but her mother made her dance anyway. After awhile the girl left the circle and went to her mother's camp. She lay down and died. The doctors worked over her for an hour or two and brought her back to life. They got a pine tree top and stood it up on her breast. Then they called all of us girls to watch her. The doctors blew on her forehead and she finally awakened.

The mother asked the girl who had died what she had seen. We thought maybe she had seen some of her dead people. But she said, "Nothing." Then she was all right again. The girl's name was *Ne-he'-ut*. She is still living at Rio Chiquito over near Kern River.

When the dance was almost over, Pleas Work and his brother, and "Club-foot" Guthrie and an Indian named *Ho'-sowm* came and told us that the white people were coming to kill all of us. We were afraid of the white people all of the time, so we all ran away into the timber and mountains. This was before the last night of the dance was over. We left without either our grub or our clothes.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops, for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans dancing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. B. Bate-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

But amid all this heart-felt mourning there were occasional manifestations of purely mechanical grief that were amusing. The venerable Sloknich, though he was a gifted and thrilling orator, a savage Nestor, preserved a dry eye; but once in a while he would arise in his place and lift up his voice in mourning like a sandhill-crane, then presently sit down and calmly light a cigarette. After smoking two or three, he would stand up and fire away again. Cigarettes were burning everywhere. An Indian would take one out of his mouth and give a prolonged and dolorous bellow, then take a few whiffs again.

Yet even these comical manifestations were so entirely in earnest that nobody thought of laughing at the time; and though one's sense of humor could not but make silent note of them the while, they were greatly overborne by the outpouring of genuine, unmistakable grief. So far even from smiling, one might, without being accused of sentimental weakness, have dropped a tear at the spectacle of these poor wretches, weeping not more perhaps for the loved and lost than over their own miserable and hapless destiny of extermination.

These demonstrations continued a long time, a very long time, and I began to be impatient again, believing that the principal occasion had passed. It appeared afterward that they are compelled by their creed and custom to prolong the proceedings until daylight; hence this extreme deliberation.

But now, at last, about one o'clock in the morning, upon some preconcerted signal, there was a sudden and tumultuous rushing from all quarters of the quadrangle, amid which the interpreter and myself were almost borne down. For the first time during the night the women appeared conspicuously on the scene, thronged into the sacred circle, and quickly formed a ring close around the fire—a single circle of maidens, facing inward. The whole multitude of the populous camp crowded about them in confusion, jostling and struggling. A choir of male singers took their position hard by and commenced the death-song, though they were not audible except to the nearest listeners.

At the same instant the young women began their frightful dance,

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 which consisted of two leaps on each foot alternately, causing the body to
786 rock to and fro; and either hand was thrust out with the swaying, as if the
535 offering it held were about to be consigned to the flames, while the breath was forced out with violence between the teeth, in regular cadence, with a harsh and grinding sound of *heh!* The blaze of the sacred fire flamed redly out between the bodies of the dancers, swaying in accord, while the disheveled locks of the leaping hags wildly snapping in the night wind, the blood-curdling rasp of their breath in concert, and the frightful ululations and writhings of the mourners, conspired to produce a terrible effect. At the sight of this weird, awful, and lurid spectacle, which was swung into motion so suddenly, I felt all the blood creep and tingle in my veins, and my eyes moisten with the tears of a nameless awe and terror. We were beholding now, at last, the great dance for the dead.

All the long remainder of that frenzied night, from one o'clock to two, to three, to four, to five, those women leaped in the maddening dance, through smoke, and choking dust, and darkness, and glaring light, and cold, and heat, amid the unceasing wail of the multitude, not knowing or heeding aught else on earth. Once in five or ten minutes, when the choir completed a chorus, there was a pause of a few seconds; but no one moved from her place for a moment. What wonder that only the strongest young maidens were chosen for the duty! What wonder that the men avoided this terrible ordeal!

769 About four o'clock, wearied, dinned, and benumbed with the cold of the mountains, I crept away to a friendly blanket and sought to sleep. But it was in vain, for still through the night-air were borne up to my ears the far-off crooning, the ululations, and that slow-pulsing, horrid *heh!* of the leaping witches, with all the distant voices, each more distinct than when heard nearer, of the mourning camp. The morning star drew itself far up into the blue reaches of heaven, blinking in the cold, dry California air, and still all the mournful riot of that Walpurgis-night went on.

Then slowly there was drawn over everything a soft curtain of oblivion; the distant voices blended into one undistinguishable murmur, then died away and were still; the mourning was ended; the dancers ceased because they were weary.